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EXCHANGE OF TOASTS BY
ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO
PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN
AND
THE HONORABLE HENRY A. KISSINGER
SECRETARY OF STATE
AT A DINNER IN THE SECRETARY'S HONOR
LAHORE, PAKISTAN
AUGUST 8, 1976

PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO:

Ladies and gentlemen, we are delighted and honored to have with us once again the Secretary of State of the United States of America for discussions, and we are looking forward to these discussions which we will hold tomorrow morning in Lahore. I'm sorry to tell you, Dr. Kissinger, that a cloud hangs over the city of Lahore, and it has hung over the city of Lahore and most of the country for the last ten to twelve days. We have had torrential rains and now also we are going through a very anxious and agonizing period, because our rivers are in full spate - they have become very mischievous, they are tumultuous, and we have to watch them very carefully. This Indus valley civilization, which dates back five thousand years, has had to fight and live with the rivers in one way or another. We've sometimes had to quarrel with the rivers, sometimes we've had to pacify them, sometimes we've had to fight with them, sometimes we've had to tame them, sometimes we've had to cajole them, and in dealing with our rivers we have learned diplomacy because in a way diplomacy is something so natural, and it comes naturally to people who have had to go through such kind of experiences. It doesn't come naturally to people who do not have to tame rivers, fight with them, make love to them, quarrel with them, and that is why when you talk to us tomorrow please remember that we will be at our best because our rivers are full of mischief. (Laughter) And since Rudyard Kipling also lived in Lahore and was the editor of our famous newspaper called Civil and Military Gazette, you must not associate Lahore only with Kim and Kipling, although Kim and Kipling had a lot to do with the British Raj, traces of which you will still see here in one form or another. However, out of all our cities, Lahore is regarded to be our cultural center, the pivot of our history and the pivot of our activities. It is a city which has seen centuries go past its towers. It has seen many conquerors. But it has, with its profound culture and depth, conquered all conquerors. It is the city of our renaissance, it is a city of great pride to us. And in recent times, when Lahore was

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invaded, the people of this city heroically repulsed the invaders and fought every inch for the protection of the motherland. Lahore conjures up many fascinating inspirations for us. It is a city of gardens, of forts, of monuments, of mosques, and here in this city of Lahore also a Moghul emperor who was then a crown prince fell in love with a beautiful young lady and she was called Anarkali. Anarkali is a form of flower of the pomegranate. But the father Shahjahan did not want a son to get married to Anarkali and he buried her alive, punished her, and on top of that burial is our Secretariat, (laughter) where we work so hard and go through all the fights. Here, just across from the room next door where we hold our talks, two people have been buried underground (laughter) for their activities. This is where the Moghul emperors, this is where the Buddhist emperors, this is where Ranjit Singh, the Sikh king, and so many other have put their imprint. And I am personally beholden to the city. I have always loved it and I am beholden to it because in the last election in 1970 I contested from here, although I contested from five other places as well at the same time. And I came to Lahore only for one day. And I had the honor of defeating the son of the person who conceived Pakistan, by four thousand votes, although I stayed here for one day. So the people of Lahore have been very kind and gracious to me and I am eternally beholden to them. Therefore we thought that, if you are coming to Pakistan -- you've been twice to Islamabad, you've been once to Lahore -- we thought you should come to Lahore. I don't know whether Mrs. Kissinger will have the time to visit some of the places of this beautiful city tomorrow. She might be tired -- you are our guests, there is no formality between us. If you're tired, you can come again. You will always be welcome to Pakistan. Dr. Kissinger and Mrs. Kissinger and his family will always be welcome to our country -- in this capacity, in any other capacity -- and we will welcome them with open arms because we have great affection and regard for them, not only because they are outstanding people, not only because Dr. Kissinger has played a magnificent and splendid role in the formulation of his country's foreign policy for which the American people will I am sure give him full credit in the fullness of time, but because he has a full grasp of history, a full understanding of the way the contemporary events move. He has a full knowledge of strategy and he has no hocus-pocus about him. He can go straight to the point, he gets straight to the point, and his contribution to world affairs, to the foreign policy of the United States, is unique. And when I say this, I am not trying to say it for the purposes of diplomacy, because our river does not teach us this kind of diplomacy. The point is that I have dealt with many Secretaries of State of the United States of America. I have respect and admiration for all of them, because they have been Secretaries of State of the United States of America. But I have no hesitation and without fear of any contradiction, I would declare here tonight, Dr. Kissinger, that in you I have found the most

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erudite and the most articulate exponent of the foreign policy of the United States of America. (Applause) Welcome. Welcome. And we respect you for your erudition and for your contribution to the cause of world peace. You have left an indelible mark, you will leave an indelible mark, on contemporary events and on the history of our times. Future historians are bound to come to the same conclusion. Sir, apart from these general remarks, I would like to say one thing more, and that is that you have come from Iran -- Iran is a fraternal and brotherly country of Pakistan. Since our independence, we have had the closest relations with Iran. And there has been a full consummation of our relations with that country in all spheres and in all fields. You have also come from Kabul. We are happy that you went to Kabul -- Afghanistan is a neighboring country of Pakistan, and we are striving very hard to improve our relations with Afghanistan. And I can assure you that when President Daoud comes here we will continue sedulously and sincerely in our efforts to arrive at the modus vivendi and to overcome our difficulties. In your visit to Iran you have achieved great successes. You have promoted the already-existing friendly relations between the United States and Iran and you have recognized Iran's importance to the security of this region. In Pakistan we are happy that this recognition has been accepted. Why are we happy? We are happy because we regard Iran's security to be indivisible with our own security. And Iran also, I would believe, considers that Iran's security is indivisible to Pakistan's security. That being the position, we are not concerned with the small bangs. If there is to be a big bang, and you, big chief, are considered as a big bang, if there is to be a big bang you cannot conceive of Iran's security separate from Pakistan's. And so what is good for the goose is good for the gander. If the United States considers that Iran's security is so important to the vital interests of the world, and for stability and equilibrium in this region, ipso facto it must come to the conclusion that the same applies for Pakistan. And there cannot be a dichotomy in that approach. And if a dichotomy is introduced into or injected into that approach, then your whole strategic concept fails, because there cannot be a half-way house to a strategic concept when the earth shakes. So we believe a (inaudible) that if you have come to certain conclusions in regard to the security of Iran, those conclusions must apply to Pakistan. And if they do not apply to Pakistan, then in that event there is a lacuna, a dangerous and serious one. So your visit to Iran really is a litmus test of your perception of the whole concept of the security arrangement. So that is why we were very delighted to see the outcome of your visit to Iran and the press conference that was held there, and of the remarks you made in Iran. We are also, as you know, proceeding with the process of normalization of our relations with India. It has not been an easy task. It never can be an easy task. But we have consistently proceeded on that basis. And we believe that if there is to be détente uptown, why shouldn't there be détente downtown? But the point is that détente downtown means that

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there are certain preconditions and the precondition in the détente downtown is that the basic dispute which separates India and Pakistan must be resolved. We have resolved all disputes with India except the dispute over Jammu Kashmir and we believe that the dispute of Jammu Kashmir has to be resolved on the basis of principles, which is on the basis of the right of self-determination. No other solution will be workable, lasting, or enduring. And when on gut issues and basic issues people try to find compromises, they only indulge in delusions. Because compromise on gut issues, on basic issues, on introducible minimum issues, creates further complications rather than resolves problems. So it is not out of obstinacy or rigidity or fanaticism that we take this position, but we take this position by submitting to logic and to the sweep of history in saying that there are certain irreducible problems which cannot be compromised. Otherwise there is always give and take, otherwise there is always room for accommodation and compromise -- that is the civilized way of life. But there comes a point where you can't indulge in give and take because that causes more confusion, more tumult, and more difficulty.

I have explained basically what we are going to talk about tomorrow. However, finally when I again refer to Lahore, let me tell you, as I said, this is the center of activity, this is the heart-throb of Pakistan. This is where we come and go for all our political, cultural, economic activities. This is where we reprocess ourselves. This is our reprocessing center. (Laughter) And we cannot, in any way, do anything which should affect the reprocessing center of Pakistan.

Now finally, ladies and gentlemen, may I request you join me in a toast to Dr. Kissinger and Mrs. Nancy Kissinger, to young David, to the friendship between Pakistan and the United States, may it last forever and grow from strength to strength.

SECRETARY KISSINGER:

Mr. Prime Minister, Mrs. Bhutto, distinguished guests, it is always a joy for me to visit Pakistan, but there always occurs a moment of terror when I have to follow one of the great orators of our period, who not only speaks more eloquently than I do but with a better English than I possess. I think all of the distinguished guests here have understood some of the subtle points that the Prime Minister made. It is clear that I have never tamed rivers and therefore our match tomorrow will be inherently unequal. But if by any chance I should on this or that point rise to the occasion, it is also clear to me what is waiting for me underneath. So as far as I can see, the negotiations tomorrow will concern primarily the rate at which I acquiesce to the proposals of the distinguished Prime Minister of Pakistan.

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When I was a professor, many learned articles were written about whether or not individuals made a difference in history, or whether history resulted from objective factors that would take the same course no matter who led his country. I believe that all of us who have had the privilege of knowing and working with the Prime Minister understand that individuals do make a difference. We know how he took over this country in a tragic and desperate period and how he has returned it to international respect, to self-confidence, and to a more important role than it has ever played before. In fact, the Prime Minister has succeeded so well in this task that he now finds that he has time available not only to reform his own country but occasionally to lecture some other friendly countries. And those of us who have been exposed to this advice suffer from the fact that he almost invariably turns out to be right.

This relationship that exists between our two countries and between the leaders of our two countries is of great significance because both of our countries have gone through not an identical experience but a somewhat parallel experience. The United States, too, has gone through a rather difficult and occasionally tragic period. We too have had to ask ourselves what our fundamental values were and where our basic interests lay. We too have had to fight a war whose outcome did not meet with our expectations. And we too are going through a process of redefining an international position. I believe that this process when it is concluded, as I believe it will be after our election, will see America emerge stronger and more understanding of the requirements of peace and of progress in the world. Through these years of difficulty that our two countries have had, for different reasons but with some of the same characteristics, your Prime Minister has never failed to stress that the security of the world depended importantly on America's understanding, and that the progress of peoples depended crucially on America's commitment. And if he has sometimes scolded us, it has always been from the conviction that the future of hundreds of millions around the world depended on American understanding and on the American dedication. And this is why our talks have been so important to us and so fruitful. Tomorrow I will enter, with some trepidation, this conference room that the Prime Minister has so threateningly described, and we will talk again about the problems that concern us all. What is the nature of security? And what is the meaning of progress? Nations that feel secure only if they reduce everyone to impotence become of concern for all surrounding countries and eventually for the security of all of mankind. And equally we understand that it may be possible to have local security and yet within a region there may be elements of insecurity. So what we have to find is an approach to the problem of security which preserves both the general peace and the regional peace,

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which banishes not only the fear of general war but which also gives a sense of security to all the individual nations whose fate may not by itself affect the general peace but the example of whose destruction or the impairment of whose security would have a profound effect on the general attitude of all the peoples of the world. We live in a world of fearsome weapons in which one must balance security against universal cataclysm. And these are the issues which we will discuss -- in the context however of what we have repeatedly stated, that the sovereign territorial integrity and independence of Pakistan are a matter of great concern to the United States, (applause) that we will be talking about methods of security and not the principles. And of course one also has to realize that a world cannot rest on security alone, but it must have a vision of a positive future in which men can improve their status and realize their potentiality. And in these areas too, we are prepared to work with our old friends in Pakistan.

Mr. Prime Minister, distinguished guests, Pakistan is the country which made it possible for us to launch our initiative towards China, an initiative which we believe is important to the peace of the world and for which (applause) we will never forget the role that Pakistan has played in this effort. In the lives of all nations, there is a process of constant renewal, and nations have periodically to reprocess themselves. And they have to decide what it is that is worth reprocessing and what it is that is better left alone. This is the nature of history and, no doubt, when we have our philosophical discussions we will reflect about that problem as well. But for now, Mr. Prime Minister, let me say on behalf of all of my colleagues, we feel that we are here among friends and that you can also count on our friendship. We shall continue to cooperate in the years ahead as we have in the past. We attach importance to your country, we attach importance to your leadership, and I am grateful to have had this occasion to visit this beautiful city and look forward to our talks tomorrow.

Let me propose a toast to the Prime Minister and Begum Bhutto and to the lasting friendship between the Pakistani and the American people.

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